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ISSUES IN TRAINING THE NEW NONPROFESSIONAL.
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THE GUIDELINES THAT ARE PRESENTED IN THIS MODEL FOR TRAINING NONPROFESSIONALS FOR JOBS IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN SERVICES ARE BASED ON A "NEW CAREER" CONCEPT, WHERE THE JOB ITSELF PROVIDES MOTIVATION FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT THROUGH TRAINING, UPGRADING, AND EDUCATION. SPECIAL EMPHASIS IN DEVELOPING TRAINING PROGRAMS IS GIVEN TO THE RECRUITMENT OF SENIOR TRAINERS ("TRAINERS OF TRAINERS") FROM NONTRADITIONAL SOURCES, THE SPECIALIZED TRAINING REQUIRED BY THESE TRAINERS, AND THE KIND OF KNOWLEDGE THEY NEED TO HAVE ABOUT NONPROFESSIONAL TRAINEES. SPECIFICALLY DISCUSSED IN THESE GUIDELINES ARE THE RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION OF TRAINEES. RECOMMENDED TRAINING METHODS INCLUDE ON-SITE TRAINING, BRIEF PRESERVICE ORIENTATION IN A "PROTECTED" BASE, A PHASED PROGRAM AND SYSTEMATIC INSERVICE, JOB-RELATED TRAINING CONDUCTED IN TEAMS OR GROUPS. SOME OF THE SUGGESTIONS ARE ILLUSTRATED BY REFERENCE TO THE EXPERIENCES OF THE LINCOLN NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICE CENTER IN NEW YORK CITY. (NH)

ISSUES IN TRAINING THE NEW NONPROFESSIONAL

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The New Manpower

In the United States there are probably over 100,000 new nonprofessionals, most of the jobs having been created by the anti-poverty legislation. Estimates indicate that 25,000 such full-time human service positions were produced for "indigenous" nonprofessionals by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Probably another 25,000 or more part-time pre-school aides have been employed through Operation Headstart, and presently through Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act some 65,000 teacher aides are being employed. Medicare will involve many thousands more as Home Health aides.

Americans for Democratic Action, at its 1966 convention, proposed that 5 million of these jobs be created in public services. Included in their list were police aides, recreation aides, homemakers, welfare aides, code enforcement inspectors. Congress has enacted the Scheuer-Nelson Sub-professional Career Act which will appropriate approximately $70 million to employ and train untrained, unemployed people in these needed jobs.

Nonprofessionals are being utilized in a number of different structures. One major model is the Neighborhood Service Center. This may be a store-front, employing 5 to 10 nonprofessionals with one or two supervisors, or the larger multi-service neighborhood centers which may include anywhere from thirty to two hundred nonprofessionals with a professional staff of five to thirty supervisors.

This model is characterized by a high ratio of nonprofessionals to professionals and a base of operation in the community, on the home turf of the nonprofessional. The character of the involvement of the nonprofessional is likely to be quite different from the second model, where the nonprofessional is attached to a service agency, such as the Welfare Department or the Health Department. He is not in the majority and his base of operations is not in the community but

rather in the agency itself. Some of these agencies may be committed to an ideology emphasizing the value and significant new role of the nonprofessional, but in other cases they may simply be utilizing the new manpower because of the assistance it provides to professionals or because funding was available for nonprofessional positions.

Thus the variables to be considered are: The ratio of professional to nonprofessionals; the base of operation, whether it be in the community or in the traditional agency; and the ideology or lack of it connected to the utilization of this new type of personnel. Training and supervisory staff should consider these three dimensions as they have implications for training methodology and supervision and for the development of the nonprofessional, the role he can play, his participation and his influence.

Jobs First - Training Built In

The New Careers concept suggests that jobs normally allotted to highly-trained professionals or technicians can, if they are broken down properly, be performed by inexperienced, untrained people. These initial jobs form the entry position. The notion is jobs first, training built in; that is, the job becomes the motivator for further development on the part of the nonprofessional.

The idea is to provide people with employment first and diplomas later and to introduce training while the workers are on the job, with concomitant college courses provided largely at the job base. This concept is directly opposite to one of the most popular ideas in America, namely that one has to obtain long years of education before he can perform a meaningful job. The New Careers concept stresses instead that the job be provided initially and that training, upgrading and added education be built in. It is possible to begin, for example, as a teacher's aide and while obtaining courses on the job, in the evening, and during

the summer, to rise within a short period of time to become an assistant teacher, then an emergency teacher (or associate teacher) and ultimately a fully licensed professional teacher. In a plan* being developed by Scientific Resources Inc. for the Newark School System it is proposed that individuals with less than a high school education go through these steps while working full-time, obtaining an entry salary of approximately $4,000 per year and becoming full-fledged teachers in five to six years.

The Need for a Large Number of Trainers

One of the major obstacles to the development of large programs utilizing nonprofessionals is the scarcity of trainers and supervisors. There is a major need for the training of trainers. If one million nonprofessionals were to be employed, at least 50,000 training and supervisory personnel would probably be required. It is clear that while the New Careers movement may potentially reduce certain manpower shortages in the human service fields, it is also developing new shortages of a specialized kind of manpower, namely trainers.

Thus far there has been little realization that the recruitment of traditional credentialed personnel to fill these new training roles is extremely difficult. There simply are not enough available social workers, psychologists, etc., interested in developing a new career line in the anti-poverty programs as supervisory personnel. Any program directed toward the training of trainers must consider this recruitment problem from the beginning and plan for it appropriately.

Fortunately, there are a number of recruitment reservoirs or pools which can be drawn upon, provided the training positions can be redefined at various levels.

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* The Newark Plan can be obtained from Scientific Resources, Inc., 1191 Morris Avenue, Union, New Jersey.

There is no question that there is a need for a cadre of top level Senior Trainers (trainers of trainers) who might be recruited from existing social work sources and re-tooled rapidly. These people should be paid high salaries and given considerable status (e.g. university appointments).

But the main training personnel cannot be recruited at this level and thus a re-definition of credentials is required. A new type of trainer who does not possess traditional credentials must be recruited.

These training personnel can be recruited from among the following sources: Peace Corps returnees, college graduates with no specialized training, people with administrative and business experience who are interested in a new career, sub-professional workers, such as welfare department employees, youth workers, and a top layer of existing nonprofessionals. In other words, people must be selected who do not have traditional credentials but do have administrative skill, know-how, inter-personal skills and who, on the basis of careful selection procedures, evidence trainability for this new position.

It is clear that these non-credentialed trainers will require much more than traditional personnel who might simply have to be re-tooled and taught how to extend their skills with modification to the supervision of nonprofessional personnel.*

This new type of trainer cannot be assumed to possess systematic knowledge of the urban community, or knowledge of supervisory practice and theory. A social training program dealing with these areas must be planned, possibly utilizing existing university courses which could be patterned to provide a basic core of

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* It is unlikely that these non-credentialed trainer candidates will initially be able to train nonprofessionals independent of supervision but rather they will have to be supervised for some period of time in the field by the credentialed Senior Trainers.

training. In addition, special intensive seminars should be prepared to focus the knowledge and understanding requisite for these trainers. The seminars would be concerned with substantative theory as well as field problems relating to supervision, etc.

The Training of Senior Trainers (Trainer of Trainers)

If nonprofessionals are to be employed and trained with any degree of speed, a plan must be conceived to train the Senior Trainers as well; that is, people who will be capable of doing the training of trainers. In light of the increasing likelihood that large numbers of nonprofessionals will be fielded fairly rapidly within the next two or three years, the strategic problem would seem to be the recruitment and development of these Senior Trainers.

Ultimately, Senior Trainers may be recruited from the ranks of trainers who in turn have been recruited from among non-credentialed personnel including sub-professionals and nonprofessionals themselves. Initially, however, this is unlikely. The first group of Senior Trainers should have had considerable supervision-related experience either as social workers, educators, psychologists, home economists, nurses, etc. These should be people who have skill not only in supervision, but in the imparting of supervisory skills. The Senior Trainers should not be trained in basic educational and supervisory techniques, but rather should be assisted to modify and enlarge their technology. Thus they must be flexible, sensitive people who do not rigidly adhere to their traditional techniques. They must be people in search of new careers, growth and development, challenge and excitement. Their training should include social science concepts, social technology, methods of developing training laboratories and a full analysis of the types of human service programs likely to be utilizing nonprofessionals.

They should be trained to train trainers of nonprofessional service agents (such as homemakers, teachers aides, mental health aides); neighborhood workers whose function is to involve the residents of the area in community planning and community action; and expediters whose function is to link services and people more efficiently - to mediate between a client and the public and private agencies. The Senior Trainer should learn how to develop relationships with various public and private agencies in the community, how to make field placements and consult on site-training* and how to develop groups.

Specific Nonprofessional Issues

Attention should be given to preparing Senior Trainers to deal with specific nonprofessional issues such as:

The ways in which the nonprofessional perceives the professional

competitively
as a foreman
distant from the poor
possessed of magical powers
over-identification with professional

The nonprofessional's uneven development - deficiencies in the areas of

record keeping
literacy
"system" know how
In other areas he may possess excellent understanding

The various types of nonprofessionals

those who desire careers
those who desire security
those from the hard core poor who may need considerable rehabilitation

The significance of the buffer role (the Trainer or Assistant Trainer) standing midway between the nonprofessional and the Senior Trainer or other professional (Supervisor, Administrator)

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* Site-training is training provided in the field operation in which it will be utilized.

The ways in which the professional can learn from the nonprofessional (cross-socialization)

The role of the nonprofessional as a change agent in the system

The marginality and ambiguity of the nonprofessional role

Special issues

the new participation ideology
relation to volunteers
coddling and glamorizing of nonprofessionals
authority problems of nonprofessionals
confidentiality issues

It is going to be necessary to have training designs which allow for the confrontation of the nonprofessional and the professional with full open discussion of the difficulties they have with each other or anticipate having with each other. Trainers need to be prepared to handle these potential cleavages and issues in order to work toward the full development of the nonprofessional-professional team.

What the Trainer Must Know About the Nonprofessional

Frequently, professionals assume that nonprofessionals's identify with the poor and possess great warmth and feeling for the neighborhood of their origin. While many nonprofessionals exhibit some of these characteristics, they simultaneously possess a number of other characteristics. Often, they see themselves as quite different from the other members of the poor community whom they may view with pity, annoyance, or anger. Nevertheless, they have considerable knowledge of the neighborhood and its traditions and they communicate easily with many different types of people in the area. They both literally and figuratively talk the language of the poor and have some similarities in style, values and traditions. In addition, nonprofessionals have a good deal of neighborhood know-how, savvy and understanding. They are particularly good at functioning and communicating

on an informal level. They know the hidden assumptions of the neighborhood, but it should not be assumed that they are always going to be friendly, cooperative, "concerned," or any of the romantic myths about the poor. Moreover, there are many different "types" of nonprofessional: Some are earthy, some are tough, some are angry, some are surprisingly articulate, some are slick, clever wheeler-dealers, and nearly all are greatly concerned about their new roles and their relationship to professionals.

It is most important to note then that nonprofessionals are frequently quite competitive with professionals. In essence, many nonprofessionals think they're different from the poor and would be more effective than professionals if they had a chance. They are aware of the new ideology regarding nonprofessionals which calls attention to the special properties (style, etc.) which enable the nonprofessional to communicate with the low-income community in an effective manner. They feel this gives them something of an edge over professionals, and when combined with the training and knowledge they are acquiring in the professional structure, they will be doubly "smart." They will incorporate the intelligence based on their history with the new knowledge based on their training. It is not at all unusual to find a nonprofessional who has imaginatively combined these two levels and is remarkably effective in dealing with problems at various levels.

While nonprofessionals may be selected because of certain characteristics they possess such as informality, humor, earthiness, neighborliness - in other words some of the "positive" characteristics of the resident population - the other side of the coin cannot be ignored. That is, they may possess characteristics of low-income populations that interfere with effective helper roles. For example, they may possess considerable moral indignation, punitiveness, suspicion, or they may be so open and friendly on occasion that the significance of confidentiality escapes them. Thus, while the training staff will want to build on

their positive helping traits and potential skills, to some extent there must be an effort to either train out or control some of these other negative characteristics (negative in playing the helping role in a social service frame-work). In addition, it should always be remembered that we are probably not selecting a representative "lower-class" population but in all likelihood are selecting "bridge" people who can communicate with both class groups (the low-income group and our own middle-class population). This nonprofessional population probably has considerably more ambition, drive, envy, and less identification with the poor. It is, of course, possible to possess simultaneously some of these traits which appear to be mutually exclusive.

One of the greatest problems experienced by the nonprofessional is role ambiguity or lack of role identity: That is he doesn't know who he is or who he is becoming. He is no longer a simple member of the community if he ever was one, nor is he a professional. Actually, he is a highly marginal person. He may represent the poor, but he is not the poor. He uses his knowledge, his history, his past to bring a new voice of the poor into the system; but he too is now in the system. And he must be able to communicate and assist the professionals in his agency and in other agencies with whom he has relationships. There are necessary strains in this new role and they must be accepted openly and dealt with. In the pre-job training phase this new role should be defined from the beginning, but it will have little meaning to the nonprofessional except as a broad orientation base, until he is faced by the role conflicts in practice - until members of the community begin to see him as a "fink" because he does not completely represent them and is not completely of them anymore, or until he is criticized as a "hot head" in relation to other agencies with whom he is working. For example: One of the Aides at the Lincoln Neighborhood Service Center* Project, in speaking to

* The Lincoln Neighborhood Service Center Program, functioning in the Bronx, New York, in a poor neighborhood, under an OEO Demonstration Grant. Hereafter, we refer to it as the Lincoln Project.

a Welfare Department investigator about a client, was asked who she was. The Aide was annoyed and responded: "It does not matter who I am; my client is in great need - let's talk about that." She was acting as she had previously acted as a neighbor or friend, angrily demanding the assistance of the agency; but this was an incorrect posture in her new role in relation to the Welfare Department and she was not accurately representing the stance of the Neighborhood Service Center Program. It is only through discussing this type of case that her own identity in relation to the nonprofessional role can begin to be clarified. But this is a long process and constantly fraught with strain and difficulty.

Thus, the role ambiguity relates to different aspects of the situation. One is the stance of the agency and the relationship of the nonprofessional to the community and to the agency world. Another source of role confusion relates to the marginality of the nonprofessionals' position; i.e., "nonprofessional" describes what he is <u>not</u>, but does not clearly indicate what he is. He is simply a citizen, or a volunteer participating in the organization, although the desire to have him represent the feelings of the neighborhood produces some similarity with the citizen advisory board role of the local resident. He is not the traditional kind of employee because his participation and neighborhood know-how and advice is sought; yet he is also an employee. He is not a professional, even though he does represent the agency and many people in the community may see the Aide as a new kind of social worker. He is not a political action organizer even though he does develop groups in the community concerned with various types of change. He is an amalgam of all these various roles and his trainers must understand and try to clarify this new role. But to repeat, the role itself has strains and contradictions and the nonprofessional must be assisted to live within the framework of these dilemmas. He is the new marginal man. He must be selected with this in mind, trained and supervised in this fashion and assisted in forging this new role.

Training Methodology

The following principles should guide the training of nonprofessionals:

1. Field-based or site-based training - conceptual, didactic training built on laboratory-field experiences.

2. Short pre-service training to take place if possible in a "protected" base - e.g., a storefront laboratory.

3. Phased, programmed, step-by-step training.

4. Systematic, in-service training related to on-the-job experience - short period or pre-job training.

5. Team or group training.

The actual training technology emphasizes building on the style of the trainee and expanding it; learning through doing, role-playing, job simulation and field exercises; highly explicit, concrete, inductive presentations; peer learning and learning through teaching others (helper principle); task-oriented, functional learning; considerable over-training. For more details on training technology and overall training design, see Chapter 8, New Careers for the Poor, by Pearl and Riessman, Free Press of Glencoe, 1965.

Phased Training

The relationship of training to job performance for the nonprofessional is more difficult than it is for other types of employees. Perhaps the main reason for this is the general lack of skill possessed by the nonprofessional and more particularly, the lack of certain requisite skills for the new jobs (e.g., interviewing, record-keeping). The problem is heightened by the ambiguity of the new nonprofessional roles.

Before planning a specific training program it is necessary to determine priorities; that is, the minimum knowledge that is needed quickly in order to perform on the job. Every effort should be made to avoid imposing too much

information on the nonprofessional too quickly, lest we clutter his mind, disorganize him and make him too anxious.

It has become axiomatic that most of the training of the nonprofessional will take place on the job itself. This requires that job functions be phased in slowly and that the Aides receive ample time to master the required tasks at each stage before going on to more advanced tasks.

In order to illustrate how training is phased simultaneously with the phasing in of program, a brief overview of the Lincoln Neighborhood Service Center recruitment and training model may be useful.

Recruitment and Training of Nonprofessionals

The initial recruiting was done largely through the formal and informal agencies of the community, local radio stations, community meetings, the state employment services, and so on. The recruitment request stated that what was desired was people who lived in the neighborhood, who would like to work with people, and the completion of a high school education was not required. Forty-five people applied for the initial positions and six of these were ultimately selected for the training program. The selection procedure was as follows:

1. A large meeting of all the applicants was held at which the job was described, personnel practices, salary indicated, and questions answered.

2. The next phase consisted of group interviews in which the total group was broken down into groups of 10 or 11 individuals. These interviews were held in a room which had a one-way screen behind which sat four judges: a psychologist, social worker, psychiatrist and a nurse. The group interview was conducted by two people, and was directed toward ascertaining the candidates' attitudes toward the neighborhood - whether or not they rejected the people who lived in the neighborhood; attitudes toward people on welfare; feelings about discrimination, minority groups, disturbed people; and so on. The judges observed the group process and rated the applicants with regard to the following characteristics: empathy, attitude toward authority, comfort in a group, ability to communicate ideas and feelings, trainability and flexibility, capacity for self-awareness, reaction to stress, pathology and relevant work and life experience.

Particularly, concern was directed toward selecting "bridge" people; that is, people who were able to communicate with the professionals, and with the people in the neighborhood.

3. From the four original groups, a further group was selected for another group session.

4. An individual interview was held for candidates about whom there was still doubt.

The Training program was divided into three phases:

1. A pre-job period of three weeks in which the training was based at the Lincoln Hospital Mental Health Clinic. The emphasis was on operational tasks such as community surveys, door-to-door interviews with families, assisting the intake team at the hospital, visits to various agencies such as the Department of Welfare, the Police Department, the schools and so on. Job simulation and role-playing were central features of the training in this phase and there was very little didactic presentation. The training was conducted by the NSC staff, including two psychologists and three social workers. All have had considerable experience in training and three of them have had specific experience in the training of nonprofessionals.

2. Following the three-week intensive training program, the aides were placed at the NSC for a period of two weeks; half their time was devoted to specific service to residents of the area and the other half was spent in further training based now on the on-the-job experiences. Thus, the center was open for one-half of the day and the aides actually functioned fully in this period of time.

3. On-going training takes place continuously at the center which is now open and in full operation. Approximately one-fifth of the week is spent on systematic training - the development of new skills. This training is then added to as the program phases develop.

Phase I: Basic individual services. In this phase, the nonprofessionals have as their focus discovering the needs of the community and informing the community of the presence of the Neighborhood Service Center. Major tasks of the center at this point relate to the expediting of service and the provision of simple services such as: filling out forms, writing letters, escoring people, translating, etc.

The training needs in this phase relate to the acquisition of information about community resources, knowing channels and how to cut through red tape, how to stimulate clients to follow through. Basic interviewing skills have to be learned. The role model of friendly neighbor has to be enlarged upon to enable the worker to provide the listening ear and emotional support necessary for psychosocial first aid.

Phase II: Small informal groups. The emphasis in this phase is on the development of small group activity, initially home-based, in preparation for the community meeting involving all the people who have received service at the NSC. Each month, all the people who have visited the center for service are invited to a community meeting at the center conducted by the mental health aides. The meeting is oriented toward discovering the needs of the neighborhood, organizing groups or committees to deal with these problems and developing leadership.

The training needs at this stage relate to the development of groups, home visits and follow-up, the spotting of leaders, the deepening of counseling approaches and further psychological understanding.

Phase III: The community meeting and task-oriented groups. The emphasis in this phase is directed toward the development of various types of more organized group activity. The functions of the nonprofessional involve: organizing the community meeting - informal, social dimensions and task-oriented aspects; starting service groups and task-oriented groups; developing campaigns, particularly in relation to underutilized health services, the use of surplus foods, registration of children in pre-school programs.

The training needs at this stage relate to providing skills for developing committees, preparing people to participate in other organizations, e.g., PTA meetings, and planning of campaigns.

Phase IV: Inter-group programs. The emphasis in this phase is on relating the committees and groups developed at the NSC to other groups and forces in the community. Leadership development, an extremely important phase of the program, is facilitated through: combining with other agencies, planning councils and community groups on a larger community action basis; planning community action in relation to services which are not underutilized and where there may be some political backlash (e.g., welfare, schools, etc.); formal leadership training development, knowledge of service-giving techniques, participation on advisory committees, special counseling and clinical assistance where necessary.

Training needs here relate to community action skills, the development of "meeting" tactics at a higher level, leadership training techniques and methods of "teaching" low-income people.

The Pre-Job Stage

Pre-job training (to be distinguished from core training or the training in basic knowledge which can take place throughout the job program) should be oriented primarily to enabling the nonprofessional to perform the simplest entry features of the job in a fairly adequate fashion. Moreover, the job itself must be broken down and phased in, so that in the initial stage the nonprofessional will be required to perform only limited aspects of the job itself. Thus in interviewing a client who has been having difficulty obtaining welfare, the Aide must know the simplext principles of interviewing (how to obtain information), how to contact the Welfare Department to inform them of the situation, and how to make a simple record of this transaction - following forms which should be especially developed for this purpose. The nonprofessional should not be expected to assess or evaluate why the client hasn't appeared for welfare before, what his other problems may be, how to plan to assist the client in a general way, or how to influence a

resistant welfare investigator. These skills will be learned on the job itself, through on-the-job training and specialized systematic training to be introduced at a later point. Hence the pre-service training is directed toward developing primary skills, agency orientation, and providing considerable support and structure.

Aside from providing general orientation regarding the agency and its stance and goals, the pre-service period should teach quite directly, in non-didactic fashion, the necessary preliminary skills. This can be done through the use of cases, role-playing, anecdotes, job simulation. Role-playing, interviewing of a client, phoning an agency, making a home visit, talking to a supervisor, are illustrative here. Particular attention must be given to teaching simple recording skills because these are most lacking in the population in question.

The pre-service period should be short lest anxiety be built up and the Aide become threatened by the anticipated job. The learning should be active; the Aide should be doing things and knowledge and concepts should be brought in around the discussion of his activities.

As quickly as possible the Aide should be place on the job itself for a part of the day under close professional supervision. The sooner the Aides can get their feet wet, the better they will feel. Thus in the Lincoln Project, the Aides were placed on the job in a Neighborhood Service Center for one-half a day in this pre-job period (after a three week period spent in job simulation, practice, etc.). The half-day in which they were not working was utilized to discuss the specific experiences they were having.

Beyond this point, the really significant training and learning will occur on the job itself and in carefully planned discussion about the work they are doing. It is not to be assumed, unlike many other positions, that the nonprofessional knows his job; for the nonprofessional is actually involved in continuous

training and the first job operations are really to be considered preliminary aspects of the position that he will ultimately fulfill. He is really still in training on the job itself.

On-the-Job Training

On-the-job training, then, becomes decisive and different types of on-the-job training should be considered. The Aides will learn from simply performing some of the tasks - that is, they will learn from their own experience; the Aides will learn from each other (utilizing peer learning); the Aides will learn from their supervisor who will support them and correct their mistakes and provide assistance at any time on request. The Aides will also learn from a special series of group meetings that can be held. One such group can be concerned with systematic training, introducing, for example, further skill in interviewing. There can also be group discussions about general problems being experienced: on-the-job problems with professionals, problems with other agencies, problems about their own marginality, problems stemming from competition with each other or annoyance with the type of supervision they are receiving. These discussions should be task-centered with personality and individual components coming in as relevant (the traditional sensitivity training, T group experience seems to require considerable modification if it is to be used with the nonprofessional population).

Another very significant type of informal training can be developed as the program of the agency moves forward. In the Lincoln Project, the initial phase was concerned with providing and expediting service. After a number of months, the program moved toward the development of groups, committees, community action, campaigns (voter registration, etc.). At this point the program had to be discussed with the Aides and this provided an excellent opportunity for the intro-

duction of new training with regard to concepts and skills. Thus in order to involve clients in a community meeting, it was necessary to discuss with the Aides plans for calling such a meeting, how to conduct the meeting, how to bring the client population to the meeting, how to develop committees and so on.

The need for new skills is introduced as the initial tasks are mastered and the program moves forward. The new skills are introduced functionally. At the point when the agency is ready to call a community meeting the need for skills related to conducting the meeting is likely to be highest.

The discussion, which was program-centered, for the most part, brought in training in what might be described as an informal but highly functional fashion. But it is exactly in this fashion that the Aides seemed to learn best. They needed to know how to conduct a meeting, develop participation in committees and the like and consequently their motivation was high and the learning was sensitive and highly directed. Moreover, issues about how fast we can move, what kinds of action can we take, what is our relationship to the community, became commonplace discussion and the concepts and goals of the program were easily introduced in this context. For example, one of the Aides asked why we couldn't use an Alinsky type, TWO program approach. Other Aides suggested that if we did, we wouldn't have our jobs long. The leader indicated that there were target populations among the poor whom the Alinsky groups did not influence easily but that our agency, because of its legitimacy, might be able to work with and involve in various types of non-militant activity. A great deal of excited discussion took place and apparently much concrete understanding regarding the agency's viewpoint emerged.

To take another example: At one of the community meetings that was called where over 100 people from the neighborhood attended, the combined enthusiasm of the Aides who led the meeting and the client-citizens who attended it, went into the formation of eight different committees. In a discussion after the meeting,

the Aides were able to understand fairly easily that they had really run ahead of themselves; that they had taken on more work than the agency could handle. Various methods for consolidating the committees and developing volunteers were then discussed in a highly meaningful fashion. Thus the fact that the programs of the new Neighborhood Service Centers are not fully developed can be used to good advantage in the phasing of the training of the nonprofessionals. As these programs develop, new training appropriate to the program phase can be introduced and this is a most meaningful way for the Aides to learn.

The Howard Program provides another illustration of functional learning. Initially the Research Aides in the Howard Program interviewed each other with a tape recorder and learned only the simplest principles of interviewing in order to perform this task. Before long they recognized that they needed to know something about how to record this information and categorize it and later they needed some statistics in order to analyze it appropriately. As each of these needs became apparent, the appropriate training was introduced to develop the requisite skills. This can be done either formally or informally, through systematic in-service training and/or through informal discussions related to the problem. Similarly in conducting a voter registration drive, at the Lincoln Project, the community organizer taught the Aides a number of organizational skills and attitudes quite informally in the process of working on the drive. This type of step-by-step learning, emerging out of the job needs, provides highly effective motivation for indigenous nonprofessionals. In fact, one of the most interesting sidelights connected to it, is that the nonprofessionals do not even realize that they are receiving training!

To repeat: The task phasing has to be very carefully planned so that success in learning the requisite skills is guaranteed for the Aide at each point or phase. If too much is required too early, the nonprofessional will experience the type of failure that he has experienced so many times before in school and in life.

A Separate Training Agency

When possible, it seems useful to have one person responsible for selecting the Aide (interviewing him either individually or in a group), training him, and supervising him in the actual program. This was the model developed by Mary Dowery at the Mobilization for Youth Parent Education Program. It allowed for identification by the Aides with one person and prevented the confusion that develops when there are multiple leaders. The limitations in this type of model relate to the fact that one person cannot encompass all the required skills that are to be imparted to the nonprofessionals. This difficulty can, to some degree, be minimized by introducing a number of different consultants as assistants to the trainer at various points. However, the trainer has to utilize this information selectively and interpret to the Aides what the consultant is offering. The consultant does not become the leader.

However, in the larger agency model, it will not be possible for one person to play the multiple roles of selector, trainer, supervisor.* To obtain a more full and systematic training product, it is probably best to have the training done by a special training agency. Even though a large part of the training will have to be on the job itself, the training organization can dispatch its Senior Trainers to the service agency in order to provide the initial on-the-job training. (The training institution can provide pre-job training at its own base.) The training agency will, of course, have to work very closely with the service organization and plan to phase out its own role, leaving in its place a training and supervisory capability.

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* Nonprofessionals can be introduced in a circumscribed sphere of the agency - in one department, for example, where the selection, training, and supervisory responsibilities are delegated to one person or to a team of two or three individuals working closely together.

Another possibility is to permit professionals in the larger agency to volunteer to select and work with a nonprofessional assistant, in a sense, functioning as selector, trainer, and supervisor. While some general suggestions can be offered as to how the professionals might use the nonprofessionals, in general it would seem best at this stage to permit the professionals to define the assignments and working relationships. Some professionals will want the nonprofessional, at least at first, to do fairly menial tasks, simply serving as assistants. Others may suggest fairly early that nonprofessionals perform new and meaningful assignments, really discussing things with clients, for example, rather than merely serving as translators.

The professionals who self-select themselves might meet together from time to time with a member of the training staff. In these discussions, some of the experiences of the professionals would be exchanged and discussed, problems would be raised, and the specialist or consultant would offer advice, bring in experience from other settings, suggest problems that might arise, indicate different roles that nonprofessionals could play.

This way of involving professionals might be an excellent way in which to introduce the nonprofessionals into a particular institution, and establish the tradition of using nonprofessionals. The resistance on the part of the professionals who did not self-select themselves for working with nonprofessionals is lessened after observing some of the initial (hopefully) positive experiences. It should be especially valuable for the nonprofessional to work with the professional on a one-to-one basis initially, rather than being involved in a team in which the professionals were the majority.

Some Specific Recommendations

1. Trainers should not expect or demand deep identification on the part of nonprofessionals with the poor and they should anticipate competitive feelings toward professionals (usually professionals other than themselves, but not always). Permit the airing of these feelings and be prepared to discuss them,

2. Provide constant support and assistance; be available for assistance at all times and make it clear that the nonprofessional can request it without any negative implications regarding his evaluation. On the other hand, provide the opportunity for considerable initiative and flexibility on the part of the nonprofessional. He wants both the flexibility and the support. He is a new kind of employee, and reflecting the developing anti-poverty ideology, he wants more of a say, or at least wants to be consulted, regarding the operation of various programs and rules.

3. Make the obtaining of the job as easy and simple and short as possible. Every effort should be made to reduce competitive feelings the Aides may develop in relation to other candidates for the position. Long delays between original time of the job application and the later interviews or job selection are likely to produce considerable anxiety for the candidate. This attitude may be carried over in the training and on the job itself thus producing competitive difficulties with other Aides and anger toward the program and the staff.

4. There appear to be some male-female differences in the interests and the job functions preferred by the Aides. Women appear to be much more at home in direct one-to-one helping and interviewing, functioning as teacher aide and mental health aide. Males seem more interested in community organization, developing groups functioning in the community, on the streets. We are not suggesting that these preferences be completely accepted and men and women assigned accordingly,

but consideration should be given to the preference and feelings of the individual. And some anticipation of these differences may be useful in developing training and job assignments. (We hasten to add, however, that in the Howard University Community Project, the males apparently became excellent pre-school aides and preferred this assignment.)

5. The group interview can be used very successfully in selecting applicants. Aside from the fact that it is economical in time, the group process permits the selector to observe how the candidates relate to other people in a group; who influences whom; who listens; who is sensitive; who is overwhelmed by group pressure; who has leadership potential, etc. It is also possible to produce an excellent group atmosphere and develop the beginnings of later comraderie, esprit de corps, group feeling, teamwork, etc. The danger, however, lies in the competitive setting in which the applicants observe that they have to compete against others for a limited number of jobs.

The competitive troubles can be reduced by establishing an informal friendly setting; coffee and cake should be supplied from the beginning even before the group forms and starts to talk. A leisurely pace of discussion can be established by the leader or the co-leader. Every body should be introduced. Plenty of time for warming up should be available. The group should be no larger than ten people and should be sitting fairly close together in a circle or around a table. But the selectors must make perfectly clear that evaluation is taking place and that it will be difficult to assess people unless they participate and have something to say. Otherwise "quiet ones" will be penalized by this group selection process. The group session itself should stress interaction and not go around the circle having each person announce his interests or goals.

6. Nonprofessionals frequently expect magic from the training process; that is they expect to learn how to do everything they are supposed to do quite

perfectly. To the degree that this is not achieved they blame the training process. To some extent this reflects a naive view about training, education and learning. The training staff should be aware that it probably will receive this reaction and insofar as possible should try to explain to the trainees that many dimensions of the job will take some time to learn fully in practice. Fundamentally, of course, the trainees' reaction reflects their anxiety about the new job and role and this has to be dealt with in other ways as indicated below. The trainers also sometimes expect too much from the training; sometimes their expectations of nonprofessionals are initially too high and their appraisal of adequate progress is based on experience with more trained, experienced professional learners. While nonprofessionals have some surprising knowledge and understanding of a variety of issues, there are areas of their knowledge which are unbelievably remiss. They often have great gaps in their knowledge or know-how about the system - how to fill out forms, how to make outlines, how to take tests, how to read effectively. Because they are frequently very sensitive and bright in their understanding people and the neighborhood, the tendency (in halo fashion) is to assume that their understanding is equally good in areas removed from their previous experience. Thus it is a shock to discover that a nonprofessional who has conducted an excellent interview with a client, writes it up very inadequately. Constant training and emphasis must be built in to improve the report writing skills, filling out forms, etc.

7. Nonprofessionals have quickly learned that part of the ideology of the anti-poverty movement is directed toward developing, not merely jobs for nonprofessionals, but career lines as well. It is therefore extremely important that the agency establish these lines so that there can be aides, assistants, associates, supervisory positions and possibly assistant neighborhood service center director positions available to the nonprofessional through career development and education. The training staff must clarify these career lines indicating the

relationship of education to them and further indicating the time involved before individuals can expect to "move up". If this is not done appropriately, aspirations may develop very rapidly and may outstrip possibilities.

8. The Aides should be encouraged as soon as possible to form their own groups which can meet outside of the job. Aides at Harlem Hospital have been encouraged to meet by themselves, but these meetings have been recorded and utilized by the research staff there. The meetings were carried on within the context of the job itself, on the premises, so to speak. The Lincoln Aides and the Howard Aides met independently on their own time and not under the surveillance or immediate stimulation of their professional supervisors. These groups are probably more significant than any of the groups that we make an effort to develop on the job itself in order to increase esprit de corps, teamwork, cooperation, mutual reinforcement, etc. These on-the-job groups are too much under the control of the professional agency. The off-the-job groups are very important in developing the power of the Aides, a feeling of identification as a group and should contribute greatly to the formation of role identity and job identity. In the Lincoln Project, these group meetings led to the development of leadership among the Aides, powerful group identify, and to the raising of a number of highly significant demands: the demand for greater participation in certain aspects of decision-making of the organization (this was not an unlimited demand for participation on all decisions); the demand for closer supervision and periodic discussions with the leaders of the program; the curtailment of T groups (Sensitivity Training groups which were highly unpopular among the Aides); the demand for career lines to be developed so that nonprofessionals could move up the ladder - the associated demand for education to be provided by the Yeshiva University of which the Lincoln Project is a part; the demand that if volunteers were to be used, they should be carefully trained; the demand for a greater voice in the selection of delegates to the local Anti-Poverty Community Convention.

9. While much emphasis has been placed on the use of group procedures in training, it should be noted that a great deal of deep learning develops on a one-to-one identification basis. Bank Street College's summer experiment in which each teacher worked one hour per day with one student found this one of the most effective learning devices. And Mobilization for Youth's homework helper program in which one high school youngster worked individually with one elementary school youngster, also supports the value of the one-to-one relationship. This principle can be utilized at a number of points in the training design. As noted above, individual Aides can be assigned to professionals in the agency who select themselves for this purpose and volunteer to develop a nonprofessional assistant. We have also found that it is possible to use experienced, trained nonprofessionals to assist in one-to-one work with new trainees; that is, for a period during the day a new trainee can be assigned to work alongside of an employed nonprofessional. This has to be done selectively or else we will have the situation that Mel Roman describes as the "blind leading the blind." But when it is done carefully and supervised thoroughly, there exists the possibility of utilizing the full advantages of peer learning. Many different studies have noted that peers learn from each other in very different ways, and sometimes much more fully, than they learn from "superior" teachers. In addition, the helper principle notes that the peer teacher (that is, the more experienced or advanced aide) learns enormously from imparting information to the trainee; that is, he learns from teaching (see "The Helper Therapy Principle" by Frank Riessman, Social Work, April 1965).

10. While a certain degree of anxiety is useful in stimulating learning, the nonprofessional is probably faced by far too much anxiety due to his role ambiguity. Hence every effort should be made to reduce the anxiety level. This can be achieved by: careful phasing of tasks (not demanding too much too fast), defining the job as carefully as possible, developing group support, providing specific training

and evaluation (positive performance should be commended in as detailed a fashion as are weaknesses), providing constant supervisory support and assistance, and holding frank discussions of program and role difficulties. We suspect that the nonprofessional's anxiety tolerance is not high and that a learning style that utilizes anxiety stimulation is not characteristic of this population.

11. Many professionals express great concern about nonprofessionals losing their community ties, their feeling for the neighborhood and their identification with "the people." This is based on the obvious fact that nonprofessionals are no longer simply members of the community but are now employed by an agency. Moreover, since career lines may develop, the nonprofessionals can anticipate moving up the ladder and, in some cases, becoming professional.

The issue is not whether the nonprofessional identifies with the poor or not; but rather whether he remains committed to them. (Many professionals are committed to the poor without, in any way, identifying with this population.) What the anti-poverty program needs from the indigenous nonprofessional is his knowledge, his ability to communicate with the poor and his commitment. It does not need his identification with the poor.

Actually it generally takes people a long time to lose their knowledge and understanding of the ways, traditions, style and language of their origin. And if they initially have some committment, this concern will not fall away overnight. Thus, the committment and knowledge can remain even if immediate identification diminishes. Moreover, committment can be maintained by the reinforcement of it by the agency and the training staff. In other words, to the extent that the agency reflects the developing positive anti-poverty ideology, it can reinforce and reward at every turn the nonprofessional's concern for his neighborhood and the poor. The training staff can be critical of any tendency on the part of the nonprofessionals to lose this committment as they come to identify with the agency

or with professionals. In other words, it is possible for nonprofessionals to develop new identification, at the same time maintaining traditional committments. In fact, these committments can be deepened by new systematic understanding regarding the nature of poverty. It is in this context that continuous training can perhaps provide its greatest contribution to the nonprofessional and the anti-poverty program.

Some Conclusions

1. Training of nonprofessionals must involve the professionals with whom they will work. There must be simultaneous training, as well as cross-fertilization. Controlled confrontation must be followed by separate meetings for catharsis, since even the most skilled trainer will not be able to prevent emotion-laden interchanges.

   a. Role reversal (role playing) is a useful device for helping both nonprofessionals and professionals understand the difficulties they will encounter with each other.

   b. Nonprofessionals will have to be taught how to cope with resistance from professionals without alienating them and vice versa.

2. A good assistant trainer, usually an indigenous person who has graduated from the training course, is an important bridge between professionals and nonprofessionals.

3. There seems to be no pattern of past experience and training that is required by good trainers; they come from a variety of backgrounds, including nonprofessional work.

4. Activity as a trainer is one way to obtain the credentials and experience for rising in the scale of occupations toward professional status.

5. A separate training agency is usually preferable to in-house handling for large-scale training purposes.

6. Agencies will be more receptive to the use of nonprofessionals if they can be involved in planning for their use and for their training.

7. A primary focus of training should be to help nonprofessionals penetrate the system in which they are to work.

8. Nonprofessionals should at first be trained in one or two simple skills and put to work as soon as possible after hiring.

In order to establish the training capability necessary to train thousands of nonprofessionals, it will be necessary to recruit and train rapidly large numbers of trainers and Senior Trainers (trainers of trainers). It is suggested that the trainers be recruited from a variety of sources and that traditional credentials be waived except for the much smaller group of Senior Trainers. Nonprofessionals and their trainers may be trained simultaneously, on the job, thus providing immediate work output while developing a training cadre. Specific issues and methodology involved in the training of nonprofessionals are discussed and suggestions are offered.